

The Papyrus from the ‘Musician’s Tomb’ in Daphne (ΜΠ 7449, 8517-8523) *Contextualizing the Evidence*

Ioanna Karamanou

University of the Peloponnese, Faculty of Theatre Studies
karam@uop.gr

To the memory of Professor Martin West

Abstract

The author explores the evidence for the earliest Greek papyrus discovered so far (430/425 BC). It was unearthed as part of a collection of writing implements along with musical instruments in a tomb in Daphne in 1981. She attempts to situate the available evidence in context, by investigating how it could be mapped onto the framework of papyrological research and its contemporary literary and cultural milieu.

Keywords

earliest Greek papyrus – ‘Musician’s Tomb’ – Derveni papyrus – Timotheus papyrus – writing tablets – ancient education – literary quotations

* I am truly grateful to Professor Egert Pöhlmann for entrusting me with the Daphne papyrus material and for valuable guidance. I owe a significant debt to late Professor Martin West for assigning me to edit the Daphne papyrus fragments not included in his edition. I am grateful to Professor Andrew Barker for his kind collaboration in the publication process. I am indebted to Professor Richard Janko for constructive comments on my edition in *GRMS* 2, 38-49; to Professor Athena Alexopoulou for her excellent images of the papyrus; to Dr Dorina Moullou for her kind help; to Dr Stella Chrysoulaki and Mrs Angeliki Poulou of the 26th Ephorate of Antiquities for permission to publish this research output.

Introduction

On 13 and 14 May 1981 an emergency excavation in Daphne (53 Olgas Street; now Ethnikis Antistaseos Street), where the cemetery of the ancient deme of Alopeke was probably situated, brought to light two tombs. The excavation was supervised by the Director of the Ephorate of Attica, Dr Vasileios Petrakos (now Secretary General of the Academy of Athens), and was carried out by his colleague, Angelos Liangouras. Tombs I and II have exactly the same construction, material and dimensions, thus forming a singular ensemble and presumably a family burial.¹

The first tomb contained the skeleton of a person estimated to have died in middle age (presumably in his or her forties)² and four lekythoi dating to 430/425 BC.³ In the second tomb a papyrus roll came to light along with further writing material (four wooden writing tablets and fragments of a fifth, a writing case, a bronze ink pot, a chisel and a bronze stylus), musical instruments (fragments of a harp, of a tortoise shell, which must have been the soundbox of a lyre, and an aulos tube with mouthpiece), a saw made of iron and nine knucklebones. The papyrus roll is likely to have been put in a leather bag inside a small wooden box with leather lining and iron decorations for safekeeping.⁴ The condition of the skeleton discovered in this tomb known as 'the Musician's tomb' indicates that the deceased must have been a young person in his or her early twenties. The dating of the harp, which belongs to the 'spindle harp' type attested to have been used between 430 and 410 BC, is consistent with the dating of the lekythoi of Tomb I.⁵ The findings of both tombs were taken to the National Archaeological Museum for restoration and were transferred to the Archaeological Museum of Piraeus in 1996.

The papyrus roll unearthed in Daphne is thus dated some time earlier than 430/425 BC (having been written before the death of the person buried in the tomb).⁶ Therefore, it constitutes the earliest Greek papyrus discovered so far. The same holds true for the five wooden tablets, three of which are of

1 See Pöhlmann-West 2012, 9, Pöhlmann 2013, 8, Lygouri-Tolia 2014, 10-11. Cf. also the report of Liangouras 1981.

2 Pöhlmann-West 2012, 2-3, Pöhlmann 2013, 12.

3 Simon-Wehgartner 2013, 64.

4 *NatMus BE* 29/1981, 3/3/1982. See also Alexopoulou-Kaminari-Panagopoulos-Pöhlmann 2013, 1243.

5 On the findings of Tomb II: Pöhlmann-West 2012, 2-3, Pöhlmann 2013, 12-14, Psaroudakēs 2013, Terzēs 2013, Lygouri-Tolia 2014, 7-10; for the date of the harp, Terzēs 2013, 126.

6 Pöhlmann-West 2012, 3, 9.

matching size having holes bored on one of the long sides, which suggests that they formed a *polyptychon*.⁷ Even more interestingly, the scanty remains of the papyrus text seem to display literary features being suggestive of poetic diction. This is the conclusion which has emerged from the edition of the larger fragments by late Professor Martin West and from my edition of the rest of the legible fragments, which aimed to offer an overview of the available text and to detect further possible readings.⁸

In view of its early date and possible literary character, the Daphne papyrus is a very significant finding, which requires a further evaluation of its legible material. In the present publication I shall attempt to situate the evidence of the Daphne roll in context, by exploring how it could be mapped onto the framework of papyrological research and its contemporary literary and cultural milieu.

1 The Earliest Known Greek Papyrus within the Context of Papyrological Research

From 1981 to 2010 the papyrus from the 'Musician's Tomb' remained unpublished, despite the initial excitement caused upon its discovery.⁹ In 2010 Professor Egert Pöhlmann and Professor Martin West were given permission by the 26th Ephorate of Antiquities to study the findings of the Daphne tombs in the Archaeological Museum of Piraeus. Following the formal permission granted by the Hellenic Ministry of Culture in 2011, research teams were organized (Archaeology, Papyrology, Musicology, Archaeometry, Anthropology) to delve into this material.¹⁰ The publication of the research output began in 2012 and has continued regularly since then.¹¹

⁷ Pöhlmann 2013, 13, West 2013, 74.

⁸ West 2013, 81-84, Pöhlmann-West 2012, 7-9, Karamanou 2014, 38-49.

⁹ Before 2010 scholarship comprised only passing references to the Daphne roll as the earliest known papyrus: Modiano 1981, *Archaiologia* 1 (Nov. 1981) 85, Touchais 1982, 533, Cockle 1983, 147, Gallo 1986, 100, Avrin 1991, 139, Hordern 2002, 65, n. 172, Litinas 2008, 25 and n. 48, Betegh 2004, 59, n. 10: "This title (i.e. of the oldest Greek papyrus) might now go to the badly preserved roll found in 1982 [read 1981] in a tomb in Athens and dated to the fifth century. But, as far as I know, this roll has not been made legible as yet". See most recently Tzifopoulos 2014, 138, n. 6 citing the article of Pöhlmann-West 2012.

¹⁰ See Pöhlmann 2013, 11-12.

¹¹ Pöhlmann-West 2012, Pöhlmann 2013, West 2013, Simon-Wehgartner 2013, Psaroudakēs 2013, Terzēs 2013, Alexopoulou-Kaminari 2013, Alexopoulou-Kaminari-Panagopoulos-Pöhlmann 2013, Hagel 2013, Lygouri-Tolia 2014, Alexopoulou 2014, Karamanou 2014, Najock 2015.

The discovery of the Daphne papyrus provides the second case of a papyrus unearthed in Hellenic territory, as the humidity of Greek soil is unfavourable to the preservation of papyri. It followed the discovery of the Derveni papyrus about twelve km north of Thessalonica in 1962. The latter has plausibly been dated between 340 and 320 BC, and scholarly consensus tends to favour the possibility that it could antedate the papyrus preserving Timotheus' citharodic nome entitled *Persai* (P.Berol. 9875=PMG 791, second half of the fourth century BC) and found at Abusir, north of Memphis in Egypt.¹² Before the excavation of the Daphne tombs in 1981 the Derveni and Timotheus papyrus were the oldest known Greek papyri; unlike the Daphne papyrus, however, they provide a large amount of legible text. All three papyri were found in tombs under completely different circumstances of preservation, which, in turn, determined the restoration process that was followed in each case.

The Daphne roll was described upon its discovery as 'a shapeless, flattened mass'¹³ comprising several layers pasted together, in consequence of the unfavourable conditions of high humidity in the grave. It was transferred to the chemical department of the National Archaeological Museum, where it was kept under high humidity approximating the conditions in the tomb, so that further disintegration would be avoided. No expert in papyrus restoration could be found in the Museum, in the Archaeological Service or in the National Library, and this task was assigned by the Ministry of Culture to the painter and restorer Antonios Glinos.¹⁴

At the same time, the conservation officer in the Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books in the British Library, Peter Lawson, was consulted for advice on the conservation and restoration process. Having inspected the roll, he estimated that its original size could have reached 12 cm in height and 3 cm in diameter. Although at first sight the papyrus seemed to be a total loss, a closer inspection showed that fragments from the one end of the roll were recoverable. Accordingly, Lawson proposed that the relative position of the fragments should first be retrieved and then a plan should be prepared with the fragments correctly aligned; a sheet of glass should then be placed over the top of the plan and the fragments should be fixed in position,

12 On the date of the Derveni papyrus, see Tsantsanoglou in Kouremenos-Parássoglou-Tsantsanoglou 2006, 8-9, Bernabé 2007, 99. For the possibility that the Derveni papyrus could predate the Timotheus papyrus, see Turner 1980², 24 and earlier in Kapsomenos 1964, 15, Tsantsanoglou *op. cit.* 9.

13 Modiano 1981.

14 See Pöhlmann 2013, 9, Alexopoulou-Kaminari 2013, 29.

using pressure sensitive tissues on their back.¹⁵ This suggestion was rejected by the chemist of the National Archaeological Museum, Konstantinos Asimenos, and Antonios Glinos, on the grounds that it would suit the conservation of a normal, dry papyrus and not of a rotten and disintegrated papyrus as the Daphne roll.¹⁶

Following the advice of Konstantinos Asimenos, Antonios Glinos fixed the fragments *in situ*, as they would have otherwise been destroyed in the process of removal. Apart from MΠ 8523 (3cm × 4cm), which was detached upon the discovery of the papyrus, the rest of the fragments were detached piece by piece after fixation. Several medium sized scraps were preserved, as well as a very compact piece (9cm × 4.5cm) consisting of multiple layers pasted together, and hundreds of small fragments. Glinos glued the fragments on a silk fabric between two sheets of glass kept 0.5 cm apart, in order to avoid even the slightest touch of the papyrus with the glasses, which would cause further disintegration of the fragments. He mounted the fragments in eight frames, trying to keep joins where possible, though not always being able to preserve their original relative position and to separate the compacted layers.¹⁷ As a result, the legible material does not comprise continuous text, but it consists of letter-sequences of five to nine letters per line in the largest fragments.

The eight frames have already been described in detail in earlier publications.¹⁸ I shall briefly recount this information: frames 1 (=MΠ 7449), 4 (=MΠ 8519) and 7 (=MΠ 8522) include several hundreds of tiny fragments arranged in 15-20 rows in each frame and preserving one or two letters at best. Frame 3 (=MΠ 8518) contains the notably compact piece mentioned above. Frame 5 (=MΠ 8520) comprises forty-four fragments, some of which are medium sized containing remnants of lines of text, though from several layers. Frame 8 (=MΠ 8523) includes the aforementioned detached piece, which also consists of several layers. Frames 2 (=MΠ 8517) and 6 (=MΠ 8521) contain several hundreds of small fragments arranged in eight and nine rows respectively, some of which preserve letter-sequences of four to seven letters per line.

The legibility of the fragments has been attained through imaging documentation, which was undertaken by Professor Athena Alexopoulou (Department for Conservation of Antiquities, Technological Educational Institute of Athens). Digital colour photography in the visible of all frames was

15 P. Lawson, *NatMus BE* 29/1981, 17/6/1981.

16 A. Glinos, *NatMus BE* 29/1981, 7/7/1981.

17 A. Glinos, *NatMus BE* 29/1981, 3/3/1982. See also Pöhlmann 2013, 9-11, Alexopoulou-Kaminari 2013, 29-30.

18 Pöhlmann-West 2012, 6, West 2013, 79-80, Karamanou 2014, 39, 43, 47.

carried out. To improve the legibility of letters and to reveal fragments of text permeated from several layers, multispectral imaging was applied using visible and near infrared radiation in frame 8, in selected fragments of frame 5 and in frame 3. This technique provided impressive results for frames 5 and 8, but in the case of frame 3 only scattered letters may be discerned even in infrared images because of the compacted layers, making any reading of letter-sequences extremely insecure. Multispectral imaging also demonstrated that the ink-traces discerned between the lines of the text of the fragments placed in frames 5 and 8 are not musical notation, as suggested in the inventory of the Archaeological Museum of Piraeus, but lines of permeated text from lower layers.¹⁹ In frames 2 and 6 digital photographs in macro mode in the visible spectrum and in selected areas were acquired by means of a super high resolution camera, so that the maximum legible material could be collected.²⁰ The resulting readings are discussed in the next section.

Unlike the notably humid environment in which the Daphne roll was discovered, the Derveni papyrus was found carbonized among the ashes of a funeral pyre in a rich cemetery close to the ancient town of Lete. Its carbonization saved the roll from putrefaction, as the fire evaporated all the humidity from the papyrus fibres. Twenty-six columns have been reconstructed in the *editio princeps* by Professors Parássoglou and Tsantsanoglou leaving 113 smaller *fragmenta incertae sedis*.²¹ The text comprises an allegorical interpretation of a cosmogonical poem attributed to Orpheus, which provides the earliest exegetical commentary in the Greek scholarly tradition.²² Its dialect is Ionic with an Attic overlay and occasional Doric features, which may be associated with the activity of Ionian intellectuals in Athens during the late fifth century BC, when this work is estimated to have been composed.²³ The eschatological implications of Orphic ritual described in this text would suit a funerary context. Moreover, the proximity of the tomb to the shrine of Demeter and Persephone may not be coincidental; Persephone held a distinctive role in Orphic mysteries, being

19 West 2013, 80, 83; cf. Inventory (9^ο Ευρετήριο Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Πειραιά) 182.

20 Alexopoulou-Kaminari 2013, 27-28, Alexopoulou-Kaminari-Panagopoulos-Pöhlmann 2013, 1244-49, Alexopoulou 2014, 29-30.

21 See Kouremenos-Parássoglou-Tsantsanoglou 2006, 62-125 and Plates 1-30.

22 See Obbink 2003, 177-88, Betegh 2004, 92-135, Kouremenos in Kouremenos-Parássoglou-Tsantsanoglou 2006, 19-59, 143-272, Sistakou 2014, 211-12, 214-22, West 1997, 81-85, Janko 2001, 2-3, Laks 1997, 121-42, Bernabé 2007, 99-130, Funghi 1997, 26-37, Jourdain 2003, xviii-xxiv.

23 See West 1983, 77, Janko 1997, 62, Tsantsanoglou in Kouremenos-Parássoglou-Tsantsanoglou 2006, 14.

revered as the mother of Bacchios (Dionysus), which might suggest that the deceased could have been an initiate.²⁴

The exceptionally difficult task of unrolling the Derveni papyrus was undertaken by Anton Fackelmann, conservator of the papyrus collection at Vienna National Library and an expert in the treatment of the charred scrolls of Herculaneum. Fackelmann decreased the friability of the carbonized roll by applying fresh papyrus juice and managed to separate the layers through the application of static electricity. The fragments were placed between nine glass plates, and their original position was established only after high quality photographs were taken.²⁵ Hence, the Derveni papyrus was preserved thanks to its carbonization, protecting it from rotting like the Daphne roll, and the expertise provided in the restoration process, due to Fackelmann's previous unrolling of the Herculaneum papyri.

Unlike the two papyri discovered in Greece under unusual circumstances, the papyrus of Timotheus' *Persai* was preserved in a good condition thanks to the dry climate of Egypt protecting organic material from decay, which entails that the normal process of conservation was followed. The papyrus was found to the north of a wooden anthropoid sarcophagus at Abusir in 1902 along with remains of a sponge, of an iron scraper, of a leather bag and a wooden object.²⁶ The sponge may or may not suggest that the deceased was a scribe, as no further writing implements were discovered, and sponges were also employed to prepare corpses for burial.²⁷ The leather bag is another interesting finding, and I think that it may be paralleled to the leather pouch in which the Daphne papyrus seems to have been kept. The text consists of six irregular columns preserving more than 250 lines of Timotheus' nome written without division into cola, which is typical of pre-Alexandrian papyri.²⁸ In both the Timotheus and the Derveni papyrus *paragraphoi* are employed to signpost a new section.

24 See Tsantsanoglou 1997, 110-17, Most 1997, 131-34, Janko 1997, 92-93, Tsantsanoglou in Kouremenos-Parássoglou-Tsantsanoglou 2006, 4. On Persephone's role in Orphic theology, see Bremmer 1999, 87-88, Graf-Iles Johnston 2013², 65, Robertson 2010, 91. For the initiatory character of the Derveni text, Obbink 1997, 40-54, Calame 1997, 74-80 and 2014, esp. 179-81, Betegh 2004, 349-59, Graf 2014, 75-84.

25 See Fackelmann 1970, esp. 145, Tsantsanoglou in Kouremenos-Parássoglou-Tsantsanoglou 2006, 4-7, Kapsomenos 1964, 3-6, Betegh 2004, 59-60.

26 Borchardt 1902, 47 and Hordern 2002, 64 and n. 170 citing a pre-war catalogue of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (cat. no. 16214).

27 See Wilamowitz 1903, 4, Hordern 2002, 64-65.

28 For the text and interpretation of the *Persai*, see Hordern 2002, Janssen 1989 and the brief commentary by Sevieri 2011. On the preservation of this papyrus, Hordern 2002, 62-73, Roemer 2007, 88-89, Janssen 1989, 9-13.

The hand in all three papyri is upright and bilinear. It resembles the style of epigraphic writing, to judge especially from the square E, the epigraphic form of Z and Ω, the Θ written as a dotted circle and the four-barred Σ. The script in the Daphne papyrus is small and well-formed indicating a skilled hand. The height of the letters is about 2 mm. Similarly, the writing style in the Derveni roll is elaborate, unlike that in the Timotheus papyrus, which is less elegant.²⁹

As previously observed, the contents of a papyrus and the contexts of its discovery (i.e. location, accompanying objects etc.) might shed light on the qualities of the person who owned it (though the evidence for the Timotheus papyrus remains inconclusive). As we shall see in the next section, the rich collection of musical instruments and writing implements unearthed in the second Daphne tomb could yield insight into the activity of the person buried with these objects.

2 The Daphne Papyrus within Its Literary and Cultural Context

To evaluate the literary and cultural significance of the Daphne roll, it is worth briefly recounting the most plausible readings of the papyrus and the accompanying tablets, as presented in the editions by Pöhlmann-West 2012, West 2013 and Karamanou 2014.

The text of the papyrus and the tablets is written in the Ionic alphabet often used in Athens from mid-fifth century BC onwards.³⁰ The damaged state of these findings naturally calls for due caution in the process of deciphering the legible material, not least because the papyrus fragments preserved especially in frames 3, 5 and 8 consist of multiple layers. Though speculation is unfortunately inevitable, an effort has been made to explore every plausible supplement attested in literature until 430 BC (i.e. the *terminus ante quem* of the writing of these texts).

The tablets seem to have comprised a substantial amount of text: tablet B coming from the *polyptychon* appears to have contained about 14 lines on one side and 17 on the other, with about 70-80 characters per line. Tablet A is larger and does not belong to the *polyptychon*; it was evidently a separate *deltos* comprising ca. 18 lines of writing with about 90 characters per line.³¹

29 On the letter-forms in the Daphne papyrus, see Pöhlmann-West 2012, 6-7 and West 2013, 80; for those in the Derveni papyrus as compared to the Timotheus papyrus, Kapsomenos 1964, 7-9, Turner-Parsons 1987², 92, Turner in Kapsomenos 1964, 15.

30 West 2013, 76, 80, Threatte 1980, I 27-34.

31 See West 2013, 74, 76.

According to Prof. West, the text in tablet A (A2, upper right corner, l.2:]θοιαγαθω[) could involve an allusion to a widely cited Hesiodic line coming from the *Wedding of Keyx* (fr. 264 M.-W.): αὐτόματοι δ' ἀγαθοὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ δαίτας ἔνται. This saying was delivered by Heracles, when he arrived uninvited at the wedding feast. The next line might indeed involve a reference to Heracles (Ἡρα]κλέης) or else εὐ]κλεῶς or ἀ]κλεῶς could be read.³²

In tablet B (B2, left half, l.4: ωυ[) Prof. West detected a possible Ionic type starting with ωύ[(e.g. ωύ[τός), though it is feasible that a reading such as ὦ ύ[could be represented. In l. 17 ὄλλυτᾱ[ι is probably read.³³

To turn to the papyrus: the large piece of Frame 8 (=MPI 8523) consists of more than five layers and is partly legible only through multispectral imaging. In l.3 of the third layer Prof. West read ἀρχαίου, while in l.3 of the fifth layer he read]πολυ ἰδα[, which may involve the epithet ἰδαῖος or the Trojan herald Ἴδαῖος (*Il.* 3.248, 7.276, 278, 416).³⁴ In the former case, I would note that the adjective may denote someone or something coming from mount Ida in the region of Troy (*A. Ag.* 311; regularly attached to Paris in *E. Andr.* 706, *Hel.* 29, *Or.* 1364, *IA* 1289) or in Crete, where Zeus was nurtured (*Pi. O.* 5.18, *A. Niobe* fr. 162.3 R., *E. Cretans* fr. 472.10 K.).

Frame 5 (=MPI 8520) comprises 44 fragments, most of which consist of several layers legible only through infrared photography; of these Prof. West edited fr. 1, 3, 4, 5 and 8. Fr. 3 (lower layer, l.5:]αρκηεξε[) seems to include an adjective in -αρκης, which, I would note, could hint at ποδάρκης (a formulaic epithet of Achilles: *Il.* 1.121, 2.688, 6.423, 20.413) or the proper name Ποδάρκης (*Il.* 2.704, 13.693, Hes. fr. 199.5 M.-W.) or adjectives, such as ἐξαρκής (*A. Pers.* 237) or πανταρχής (*ibid.* 855). The reading of l.6 may be supplemented, according to Prof. West, as κ]ωύκέτι, that is, an Ionic contraction of καὶ οὐκέτι.

In fr. 4.6 Prof. West detected a sign of dactylic rhythm suggestive of poetic diction and the second component of a poetic compound adjective (κυδεξε[с). Fr. 5 (upper layer, l.6:]ρανιδης) hints at a poetic patronymic, such as Τευθ]ρανιδης or Οὐ]ρανιδης attached to Cronus, or perhaps]ραν]Ιδης. In fr. 8 (]αππε[) a poetic type such as κ]άππε[сε, ἀππέ[μπω or κάπ πεδίον could be suggested.³⁵

My edition comprised the rest of the legible papyrus fragments, including Frame 5, fr. 2, 9-11, Frame 2, fr. 1-4 and Frame 6, fr. 1. In Frame 5, fr. 2 (fourth layer, l.2:]κλεω[) one may recognize an adverb such as εὐ]κλεῶ[с or ἀ]κλεῶ[с

32 See West 2013, 77 citing the works quoting the Hesiodic line, which will be further discussed below. See Alexopoulou-Kaminari 2013, Plate II 12a.

33 West 2013, 78-79; Alexopoulou-Kaminari 2013, Plate II 10a-b.

34 West 2013, 83-84; Alexopoulou-Kaminari 2013, Plate II 8a-b.

35 West 2013, 81-82; Alexopoulou-Kaminari 2013, Plates II 5a, 6a-b, 7a.

which, as previously mentioned, may also occur in tablet A2, l.3, or the adjective εὐ]χλέω[ν. Line 3 of this layer provides the letter-sequence]ργαλ[; if the ascending oblique before P comes from the same layer, it could belong to an A, thus being suggestive of the poetic word ἀργαλ[έος ('painful': *Il.* 1.589, *Hes. Th.* 718, *Sol. fr.* 13.61 W.).³⁶

In fr. 10 (lower layer, l.1:]φρα[) a form of φράζω or the Ionic poetic conjunction ὃ]φρα could be detected. The latter would be a sign of poetic diction also consistent with the aforementioned traces of Ionic dialect noted by Prof. West in fr. 3.6 of the same frame and in tablet B2.4. Line 3 of the same fragment (].οχλο[) could provide the ending of a proper name, such as Πάτ]ροχλος, Ἴτ]ποχλος or Ἐτ]έοχλος, which would be suggestive of a mythical or poetic theme. In fr.11 (lower layer, l.2:].βιεμν.[) the letter-sequence could hint at ὃ]λβιε regularly employed in invocations (*Od.* 24.36, *Hes. fr.* 211.7 M.-W., *Sapph. fr.* 112.1 L.-P.) or the vocative Ταλθ]ύβιε of the name of the Iliadic herald.³⁷

The edited fragments of Frames 2 (=MΠ 8517) and 6 (=MΠ 8521) are legible by means of high resolution photomacrography enabling the detection of lines containing letter-sequences on the surface and underneath. In Frame 2, fr.1 (lower layer, l.3:].οφυδ[) the rare combination of letters could be suggestive of the Homeric word ὀ]λοφυδ[νός ('lamenting': *Il.* 5.683, 23.102, *Od.* 19.362). The letter-sequence in l.3 of the upper layer (]χλεα[) may hint at κλέα and its compounds (e.g. εὐ]χλέα, ἀ]χλέα, δυε]χλέα), also occurring in fr. 2.2 of Frame 5, or might belong to a proper name ending in—κλεα, e.g. Ἡρα]χλέα, Ἴφι]χλέα, Ἐτεο]χλέα. Heracles' name may also be read in tablet A2.3 after the possible Hesiodic quotation.

In fr. 3.1 the combination of letters might be suggestive of the poetic and mainly epic form ἔμμορε ('to obtain one's due share': *Il.* 1.278, *Hes. Th.* 414). If the letter-sequence in l.2 (]ηγορε[.) belongs to one word, it could provide the second component of epithets, such as ἀγ]ήγορε ('courageous', 'arrogant'), εὐ]ήγορε ('glorious'), φθι]ήγορε, ὀλε]ήγορε ('man-destroying'), which are poetic and mostly epic (*Il.* 2.833, *Od.* 2.235, 4.622, *Hes. Th.* 237, *Op.* 7, *Thgn.* 399). Moreover, the reading]ηγορε[could provide an instance of dactylic rhythm, as in the aforementioned fr. 4.6 of Frame 5.

In fr. 4.2 (].φορεδ[) the vocative -φόρε of a compound adjective in—φόρος could be detected (e.g. βουληφόρος, Θεεμοφόρος, ἀεθλοφόρος, πυροφόρος, τελεεφόρος etc.); these adjectives mostly occur in poetry until that period

36 See Karamanou 2014, 44; photograph in Alexopoulou 2014, fig. 9. For more detail on the proposed supplements, Karamanou 2014, 39–48.

37 Karamanou 2014, 46–47; Alexopoulou 2014, figg. 10–11.

(*Il.* 5.180, *Od.* 4.86, Hes. *Op.* 549, fr. 23a.39 M.-W., Pi. fr. 37.1 Sn.-M.).³⁸ In Frame 6, fr. 1.3 (]ιδηρεο[) the letter-sequence points to c]ιδηρεο[, which is an Ionic and epic type.³⁹

Overall, the legible fragments of the Daphne papyrus and the accompanying tablets display signs of poetic diction, such as vocabulary deriving mainly from epic and lyric poetry, poetic themes (e.g. mythological proper names or patronymics) and ideas mostly propounded in poetry until that period (e.g. *kleos* and its derivatives). The possibility that poetic diction could have been employed would be significantly enhanced by the fact that Greek literary production until 430 BC was mainly poetic, with the exception of Herodotus, the Ionian logographers and certain Presocratic philosophers. All these factors in conjunction with the artistic activity indicated by the musical instruments make it likelier that at least a part of the text of the Daphne papyrus and tablets was written in poetry rather than prose. At the same time, the aforementioned Ionic features may indicate the Ionian provenance of the author or perhaps a literary genre written in the Ionic dialect.

The value of the writing implements and the musical instruments unearthed in this tomb may further be assessed in the light of their intellectual and cultural milieu. Our evidence suggests that the young person buried in this tomb was well acquainted with music and poetry. The vocabulary used in the papyrus and the tablets mainly derives from Homer, Hesiod and the lyric poets, whose poems formed a 'canon' employed in the 'old' Athenian education.⁴⁰

The available literary evidence for the *ἀρχαία παιδεία* current in Athens during the first three quarters of the fifth century BC (before the changes brought about by Socrates and the Sophists from the 420s onwards) is limited. Our main sources (esp. Ar. *Nu.* 964-68, Pl. *Rp.* 376e, 521d-e, *Lg.* 795d, *Meno* 94b) refer to the two branches of the 'old' education: *gymnastikē* ('physical training') and *mousikē* ('music with poetry', including poetry, singing and playing a musical instrument).⁴¹ The latter is represented in the *Banqueters* of Aristophanes (427 BC): in fr. 233.1-2 K.-A. a boy is examined in Homeric glosses, while fr. 232 K.-A. describes musical instruction in lyre and aulos. There was evidently

38 Karamanou 2014, 39-42; Alexopoulou 2014, figg. 16-17.

39 Karamanou 2014, 48; Alexopoulou 2014, fig. 18.

40 Beck 1964, 117-22, Carr 2005, ch.5, Marrou 1956, 41-43, Pfeiffer 1968, 14-15, D'Angour 2011, 229-32, Griffith 2001, 70, Ziebarth 1914², 129-31, Jaeger 1939-45, I 34-45, 72-73.

41 See the critical analysis of the evidence by Morgan 1999, esp. 47-50, 53-54 and 1998, 10-12, Carr 2005, 92-96, Ford 2003, 24-27, Robb 1994, 183-92. For literacy as a component of education in *mousikē* during that period, see also Ar. *Eq.* 188-89 (and Sommerstein 1981, 153).

a close interaction between music and literacy, as the pupils were taught to read and write, to memorize poems and to set poetry into music (Ar. *Nu.* 968).

The interplay between music and poetry in the 'old' Athenian education is well attested in the iconography from 500 to 430 BC presenting papyrus texts used for the musical recitation of poetry in educational contexts. In the famous Douris cup (485 BC; Berlin F2285, *ARV*² 426, 431) a youth and his teacher are playing the lyre on the one side, and in the centre a recitation lesson is evidently illustrated, as the teacher is unfolding a papyrus roll for the pupil to read. On the other side, a writing lesson is probably depicted, as the teacher is sitting with his stylus poised over a *triptychon*, while another pupil is having an aulos lesson.⁴² Almost all of the writing implements and musical instruments discovered in the 'Musician's Tomb' are depicted in this vase-painting, with the exception of the harp.⁴³ In the tondo of the Douris cup a young athlete is represented as removing his sandals near a louterion. This set of representations thus showcases the complementary goals of training in *mousikē* and *gymnastikē*, which contribute to an all-round education.

Likewise, in the earlier Spina kylix of the Adria Painter (ca. 500 BC, *ARV*² 349.1; Museo Archeologico di Ferrara, inv.nr. 19108) a youth on the left is holding a *diptychon* and a stylus, in the middle another youth is playing the lyre and on the right another young man is unfolding a papyrus roll.⁴⁴ Moreover, in a cup fragment attributed to Onesimus (ca. 490 BC, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum G 138.3,5,11) a bearded man is depicted on the left as playing the aulos, while in the centre a youth is seated holding an opened papyrus roll, which contains a possible reference to Stesichorus and probably a piece of choral lyric poetry. On the right, a hand is writing on a tablet.⁴⁵ As in the Douris cup, the papyrus is depicted as containing a literary text presumably employed for memorization and recitation, whereas the tablets are used for ephemeral purposes, such as writing lessons.

42 Immerwahr 1964, 18-19, pl. 18.1, Pöhlmann 2009, 45-46, Booth 1985, 275-80, Bundrick 2005, 61-63, Gaunt 2014, 107-08.

43 Cf. Lygouri-Tolia 2014, 19-21, West 2013, 75.

44 See Pöhlmann 1990, 12-13 with nn. 6-7 and Pöhlmann 2009, 43-44 and pl. 5. Cf. even earlier the *diptychon* illustrated by the Euergides painter (520 BC; Pöhlmann 2009, 43 and pl. 4). Both vase-paintings were first published by Pöhlmann 1988a, 19-28, figg. 1-3 and pl. 34.

45 See Immerwahr 1964, 19-20. For further iconographic evidence, Beck 1975, esp. 14-22 and pl. 9-15, Immerwahr 1964, 18-26, 37-43, Pöhlmann 1988b, 7-20, pl. 1-6, Pöhlmann 2009, 39-48, Harris 1989, 97.

These reading scenes indicate the early fifth-century 'literate revolution' in Athenian society, though literate education seems to have been confined mainly to the elite until the end of the fifth century.⁴⁶ At the same time, the available literary and visual evidence reveals that literate education and musical instruction were intrinsically interwoven in the 'old' Athenian education. The close interrelation between poetry and music is eloquently reflected in the findings of the 'Musician's tomb' in Daphne, which form further indicators of the education and cultural activity in mid-fifth century Athens.

More light could be shed on these findings, once we are in a position to know the gender of the persons buried in the Daphne tombs through DNA analysis. The earlier publications by Professor Pöhlmann and Professor West cautiously leave both possibilities open, when referring to the gender of the deceased in the 'Musician's Tomb'.⁴⁷ There are occasional fifth-century references to female literacy (Hdt. 4.78, E. *Hipp.* 856-59, Lys. 32.14-15) suggesting that it was conceivable for an upper-class woman to be able to read and write.⁴⁸ A group of vase-paintings from this period depict female reading scenes in a domestic environment; a red-figured hydria (440-430 BC; National Archaeological Museum of Athens, 1260) represents a seated woman playing the lyre, while another woman is unfolding a papyrus roll, which also points to the aforementioned close interaction between poetry and music.⁴⁹ Nonetheless, the available evidence cannot indicate that girls received any formal education during the fifth century, but rather that those of them who were literate (probably the exception rather than the rule) had learned to read and write at home.⁵⁰ Admittedly, none of the known female poets flourished in Archaic or Classical Athens, though later, in the Hellenistic period, the Attic poetess Hedyle (late fourth century BC), daughter of the otherwise unattested iambic poetess Moschine (Athen. 7.297a-b), authored an elegiac poem entitled *Scylla*.⁵¹

Several questions arise with regard to the literary nature of the texts scantily preserved in the papyrus and the tablets. The latter were easily reusable, being

46 See Morgan 1999, 48, n. 9 and 60, Carr 2005, 102-04, Marrou 1956, 43, Bundrick 2005, 60.

47 Cf. e.g. the careful use of 'he or she' in Pöhlmann 2013, 13, West 2013, 84.

48 Cole 1981, 223-27, Dillon 2013, 406-07, Griffith 2015, 50-51 and 2001, 69-70, Harvey 1966, 121-22, Harris 1989, 110.

49 For this representation, Glazebrook 2005, 10, pl. 4. For further female reading scenes, see Immerwahr 1964, esp. 40, Immerwahr 1973, 144-47 and pl. 33.1, 33.3-4, Beck 1975, 55 and pl. 69-75, Pöhlmann 1988b, 18-19, Dillon 2013, 398-404, Carr 2005, 92-94, Glazebrook 2005, esp. 6-10, 12-15.

50 See Pomeroy 1977, 60, Immerwahr 1964, 27-28, Cole 1981, 225-26.

51 See Gutzwiller 2007, 197, Balmer 2013, 114-16, Plant 2004, 53-55.

employed for letters, school exercises and for administrative purposes, and their texts were not meant to be permanent. In the present case, the vocabulary used suggests that at least a part of the text in the tablets could have been poetic. The handwriting is small and elegant and, therefore, it cannot point to a school exercise,⁵² to judge from the wooden tablets preserving school assignments written in a clumsy hand.⁵³ Taking these factors into account, as well as the considerable amount of text written in the tablets, I suggest that they could have conceivably comprised a 'draft text' of a literary character, which may have provisionally been written in the tablets before taking its final form.⁵⁴

On the other hand, the text written in the papyrus roll was presumably meant to be permanent. It is noteworthy that the hand in the tablets is very similar to the hand in the papyrus, to judge especially from letters such as Α, Γ, Ε, Η, Κ, Λ, Μ, Ν, Π, Ρ, Σ and Ω. It is also worth bearing in mind that the use of a different writing material may well account for any slight variation between the writing style on the papyrus and that on the wax tablets.⁵⁵ These factors could entail that the texts of the papyrus and the tablets may have been written by the same person; whether their owner, i.e. the person buried in the tomb, was also their author remains uncertain, though the considerable artistic activity of the deceased indicated by the three musical instruments (and the use of the saw to construct them) could hint at poetic activity as well.

The papyrus and the tablets are likely to have comprised a poetic composition either in part or in their entirety. In the tablets, in particular, there seem to be traces of poetic quotations, as suggested at least by the aforementioned possible allusion to the Hesiodic fragment in tablet A2. A rewording of this line was provided by Bacchylides in fr. 4.23 Sn. It has been refigured by Cratinus (*Pylaia* fr. 182 K.-A.: οἱ δ' αὖθ' ἡμεῖς ὡς ὁ παλαιὸς/ λόγος, αὐτομάτους ἀγαθοὺς ἰέναι/ κομπῶν ἐπὶ δαίτα θεατῶν), who acknowledges its proverbial validity (ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος), but introduces a variation by inserting a metatheatrical reference to the audience delivered by the Chorus perhaps in the *parabasis*.⁵⁶ Eupolis (*Chrysoun Genos* fr. 315 K.-A.: αὐτόματοι δ' ἀγαθοὶ δειλῶν ἐπὶ δαίτας ἴασιν) twists this maxim, in order to provide an ironic inversion of the Golden Age

52 See also West 2013, 76.

53 See e.g. Turner-Parsons 1987, 2, 32-33, Criboire 1996, 292-439.

54 For tablets comprising draft texts, see Missiou 2011, 106, Sider 2005, 24.

55 Compare these hands in the infrared photographs in Alexopoulou-Kaminari 2013, esp. 42-44, 47-49. I agree with Prof. West (2013, 80) that we cannot be absolutely certain that the hand on the tablets is the same as on the papyrus, but it seems quite likely that it was.

56 See PCG IV, *ad loc.*

theme, after which the play is named, and presumably a parody of the sympotic sentiments evoked in the original line.⁵⁷ The proverbial authority of this Hesiodic saying is also acknowledged later by Plato describing it as a *παροιμία* (*Symp.* 174b), on which he provides a variation (*μεταβάλλοντες*).⁵⁸

Further examples of quotation and variation (*μεταποίησις*) on passages of pre-existing poetry could offer an overview of this practice in literature until 430 BC, though most of the evidence comes from the fourth century BC onwards.⁵⁹ Solon (fr. 20 W.), for instance, 'corrects' Mimnermus' statement (fr. 6 W.) that death is preferable to old age and illness, in order to propound instead the 'ideology' of old age.⁶⁰ Likewise, Simonides (fr. 19.1-2 W.) ascribes *Il.* 6.146 to 'the man from Chios', regarding the Homeric line as authoritative, though also adding his own comment.⁶¹ In *PMG* 579 he provides a reworking of Hesiod (*Op.* 286-92) without attribution, evoking the Hesiodic passage as coming from a well-known stock of poetic ideas.⁶² The quotation and often the variation on well-known passages of earlier poetry thus imbued the work of the receiving author with validity and authority, as well as stressing the latter's own position towards a piece of traditional wisdom.⁶³ It is feasible that this practice may have also been adopted by the author of the tablets, if an allusion to the Hesiodic original was indeed made. As in the aforementioned parallel cases, such a quotation could bear cultural significance as an indicator of the author's education and ideology.

From a papyrological viewpoint, the value of the Daphne roll emerges from its prominence as the earliest known Greek papyrus in combination with its literary character and unusual circumstances of preservation. At the same time, the use of poetic diction in the papyrus and the accompanying tablets could be further assessed in conjunction with the other findings of this tomb. The interplay of poetry with music arising from the rich collection of the 'Musician's Tomb' is consistent with and could further contribute to the evidence for Athenian cultural activity in the third quarter of the fifth century BC.

57 See Ruffell 2000, 490-91, Storey 2003, 269, 277.

58 See, for instance, Dover 1980, 81-82.

59 See Bowie 1997, 58-61.

60 See Noussia-Fantuzzi 2010, 399-402, Bowie 1997, 56.

61 Bowie 1997, 55.

62 See Hunter 2014, 142-44 and for further cases of allusion to Hesiodic poetry, *op. cit.* 123-66.

63 See Ford 2003, 23-24 and 1997, 91-92, Easterling 1974, 42.

References

- Alexopoulou, A.A., Kaminari, A.A. 2013. *Multispectral Imaging Documentation of the Findings of Tomb I and II at Daphne*, GRMS 1, 25-60.
- Alexopoulou, A.A., Kaminari, A.A., Panagopoulos, A., Pöhlmann, E. 2013. *Multispectral Documentation and Image Processing Analysis of the Papyrus of Tomb II at Daphne, Greece*, Journal of Archaeological Science 40, 1242-49.
- Alexopoulou, A.A. 2014. *Techniques applied for Imaging Documentation*, in: Alexopoulou, A.A., Karamanou, I. (eds.) *The Papyrus from the 'Musician's Tomb' in Daphne: MII 7449, 8517-8523 (Archaeological Museum of Piraeus)*, GRMS 2, 24-37.
- Avrin, L. 1991. *Scribes, Script and Books: The Book Arts from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Chicago and London).
- Balmer, J. 2013. *Piecing Together the Fragments: Translating Classical Verse, Creating Contemporary Poetry* (Oxford).
- Beck, F.A.G. 1964. *Greek Education: 450-350 BC* (London).
- 1975. *Album of Greek Education* (Sydney).
- Betegh, G. 2004. *The Derveni Papyrus: Cosmology, Theology and Interpretation* (Cambridge).
- Bernabé, A. 2007. *The Derveni Theogony: Many Questions and Some Answers*, HSCPh 103, 99-133.
- Booth, A.D. 1985. *Douris Cup and the Stages of Schooling in Classical Athens*, EMC 19, 275-80.
- Borchardt, L. 1902. *Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft bei Abusir im Winter 1901/2*, Mitt. Deut. Orient-Gesellschaft 14, 1-59.
- Bowie, E. 1997. *The Theognidea: A Step towards a Collection of Fragments?*, in: Most, G. (ed.) *Collecting Fragments* (Göttingen), 53-66.
- Bremmer, J.N. 1999. *Greek Religion* (Cambridge).
- Bundrick, S.D. 2005. *Music and Image in Classical Athens* (Cambridge).
- Calame, C. 1997. *Figures of Sexuality and Initiatory Transition in the Derveni Theogony and its Commentary*, in: Laks, A., Most, G. (eds.) *Studies on the Derveni Papyrus* (Oxford), 65-80.
- 2014. *The Derveni Papyrus between the Power of Spoken Language and Written Practice*, in: Papadopoulou, I., Muellner, L. (eds.) *Poetry as Initiation: The Center for Hellenic Studies Symposium on the Derveni Papyrus* (Cambridge Mass./London), 165-86.
- Carr, D.M. 2005. *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford).
- Cockle, W.E.H. 1983. *Restoring and Conserving Papyri*, BICS 30, 147-65.
- Cole, S.G. 1981. *Could Greek Women read and write?* in: Foley, H.P. (ed.) *Reflections of Women in Antiquity* (New York), 219-46.

- Cribiore, R. 1996. *Writing, Teachers and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta).
- D'Angour, A. 2011. *The Greeks and the New: Novelty in Ancient Greek Imagination and Experience* (Cambridge).
- Dillon, M.P.J. 2013. *Engendering the Scroll: Girls' and Women's Literacy in Classical Greece*, in: Grubbs, J.E., Parkin, T., Bell, R. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World* (Oxford), 396-417.
- Dover, K.J. 1968 *Aristophanes: Clouds* (Oxford).
- 1980. *Plato: Symposium* (Cambridge).
- Easterling, P.E. 1974. *Alcman 58 and Simonides 37*, PCPhS n.s. 20, 37-43.
- Fackelmann, A. 1970. *The Restoration of the Herculaneum Papyri and Other Recent Finds*, BICS 17, 144-47.
- Ford, A. 1997. *The Inland Ship: Problems in the Performance and Reception of Homeric Epic*, in: Bakker, E.J., Kahane, A. (eds.) *Written Voices, Spoken Signs* (Cambridge Mass.), 83-109.
- 2003. *From Letters to Literature: Reading the "Song Culture" of Classical Greece*, in: Yunis, H. (ed.) *Written Texts and the Rise of Literate Culture in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge), 15-37.
- Funghi, M.S. 1997. *The Derveni Papyrus*, in: Laks, A., Most, G. (eds.) *Studies on the Derveni Papyrus* (Oxford), 25-37.
- Gallo, I. 1986. *Greek and Latin Papyrology*, tr. M.R. Falivene, J.R. March (London).
- Gaunt, J. 2014. *The Poet and the Painter: A Hymn to Zeus on a Cup by the Brygos Painter*, in: Scodel, R. (ed.) *Between Orality and Literacy: Communication and Adaptation in Antiquity* (Leiden), 101-24.
- Glazebrook, A. 2005. *Reading Women: Book Rolls on Attic Vases*, Mouseion 49 (3rd series, vol. 5), 1-46.
- Graf, F., Iles Johnston, S. 2013². *Ritual Texts for the Afterlife: Orpheus and the Bacchic Gold Tablets* (New York).
- Graf, F. 2014. *Derveni and Ritual*, in: Papadopoulou, I., Muellner, L. (eds.) *Poetry as Initiation: The Center for Hellenic Studies Symposium on the Derveni Papyrus* (Cambridge Mass./London), 67-88.
- Griffith, M. 2001. "Public" and "Private" in *Early Greek Institutions of Education*, in: Too, Y.L. (ed.) *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity* (Leiden/Boston), 23-84.
- 2015. *The Earliest Greek Systems of Education*, in: Bloomer, W.M. (ed.) *A Companion to Ancient Education* (Malden/Oxford), 26-60.
- Gutzwiller, K. 2007. *A Guide to Hellenistic Literature* (Malden/Oxford/Victoria).
- Hagel, S. 2013. *Aulos and Harp: Questions of Pitch and Tonality*, GRMS 1, 151-71.
- Harris, W.V. 1989. *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge Mass./London).
- Harvey, F.D. 1966. *Literacy in the Athenian Democracy*, REG 79, 585-635.
- Hordern, J.H. 2002. *The Fragments of Timotheus of Miletus* (Oxford).

- Hunter, R.L. 2014. *Hesiodic Voices: Studies in the Ancient Reception of Hesiod's Works and Days* (Cambridge).
- Immerwahr, H.R. 1964. *Book Rolls on Attic Vases* (Rome).
- 1973. *More Book Rolls on Attic Vases*, *Antike Kunst* 16, 143-47.
- Jaeger, W. 1939-44. *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture*, tr. G. Highet, Vols. I-III (Oxford).
- Janko, R. 1997. *The Physicist as Hierophant: Aristophanes, Socrates and the Authorship of the Derveni Papyrus*, *ZPE* 118, 61-94.
- 2001. *The Derveni Papyrus (Diagoras of Melos, Apopyrgizontes Logoi?): A New Translation*, *CPh* 96.1, 1-32.
- Janssen, T.H. 1989. *Timotheus Persae: A Commentary* (Amsterdam).
- Jourdain, F. 2003. *Le Papyrus de Derveni* (Paris).
- Kapsomenos, S.G. 1964. *The Orphic Papyrus Roll of Thessalonica*, *BASP* 2.1, 3-22.
- Karamanou, I. 2014. *Towards an Edition of the Legible Fragments of the Earliest Greek Papyrus* (MΠ 8517, fr. 1-4, MΠ 8520, fr. 2, 9-11, MΠ 8521, fr. 1), in: Alexopoulou, A.A., Karamanou, I. (eds.) *The Papyrus from the 'Musician's Tomb' in Daphne: MΠ 7449, 8517-8523* (Archaeological Museum of Piraeus), *GRMS* 2, 38-49.
- Kouremenos, Th., Parássoglou, G.M., Tsantsanoglou, K. 2006. *The Derveni Papyrus* (Florence).
- Laks, A. 1997. *Between Religion and Philosophy: The Function of Allegory in the Derveni Papyrus*, *Phronesis* 42, 121-142.
- Liangouras, A. 1981. *Daphne, Odos Olgas* 53, *Deltion Archaiologikon* 36.2, 47.
- Litinas, N. 2008. *Greek Ostraca from Chersonesos, Crete* (Vienna).
- Lygouri-Tolia, E. 2014. *Two Burials of 430 BC in Daphne, Athens: Their Topography and the Profession of the So-Called "Poet" in Tomb 2*, *GRMS* 2, 3-22.
- Marrou, H.I. 1956. *A History of Education in Antiquity*, tr. G. Lamb (Madison).
- Modiano, M. 1981. *Greek Artist's Grave yields Rare Papyrus*, *The Times*, 25/5/1981.
- Missiou, A. 2011. *Literacy and Democracy in Fifth-Century Athens* (Cambridge).
- Morgan, T.J. 1998. *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge).
- 1999. *Literate Education in Classical Athens*, *CQ* 49.1, 46-61.
- Most, G.W. 1997. *The Fire Next Time: Cosmology, Allegories, and Salvation in the Derveni Papyrus*, *JHS* 117, 117-35.
- Najock, D. 2015. *Restraining the Daphne Harp*, *GRMS* 3, 3-17.
- Nooussia-Fantuzzi, M. 2010. *Solon the Athenian: The Poetic Fragments* (Leiden).
- Obbink, D. 1997. *Cosmology as Initiation vs. the Critique of Orphic Mysteries*, in: Laks, A., Most, G. (eds.) *Studies on the Derveni Papyrus* (Oxford), 39-54.
- 2003. *Allegory and Exegesis in the Derveni Papyrus: The Origin of Greek Scholarship*, in: Boys-Stones, G.R. (ed.) *Metaphor, Allegory and the Classical Tradition* (Oxford), 177-88.

- Pfeiffer, R. 1968. *History of Classical Scholarship: From the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford).
- Plant, I.M. 2004. *Women Writers of Ancient Greece and Rome: An Anthology* (London).
- Pöhlmann, E. 1988a. *Oralità e scrittura ieri e oggi*, in: Berti, F., Restani, D. (eds.) *Lo specchio della musica* (Bologna), 19-28.
- 1988b. *Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit gestern und heute*, *Würzburger Jahrbücher* 14, 7-20.
- 1990. *Zur Überlieferung griechischer Literatur vom 8-4 Jh*, in: Kullmann, W., Reichel, M. (eds.) *Der Übergang von der Mündlichkeit zur Literatur bei den Griechen* (Tübingen), 11-30.
- 2009. *Gegenwärtige Vergangenheit* (Berlin).
- Pöhlmann, E., West, M.L. 2012. *The Oldest Greek Papyrus and Writing Tablets: Fifth-century Documents from the "Tomb of the Musician" in Attica*, *ZPE* 180, 1-16.
- Pöhlmann, E. 2013. *Excavation, Dating and Content of Two Tombs in Daphne, Odos Olgas 53, Athens*, *GRMS* 1, 7-23.
- Pomeroy, S.B. 1977. *Technikai kai Mousikai: The Education of Women in the Fourth Century and in the Hellenistic Period*, *AJAH* 2, 51-68.
- Psaroudakēs, S. 2013. *The Daphnē Aulos*, *GRMS* 1, 93-121.
- Robb, K. 1994. *Literacy and Paideia in Ancient Greece* (Oxford).
- Robertson, N. 2010. *Religion and Reconciliation in Greek Cities* (Oxford/New York).
- Roemer, C. 2007. *The Papyrus Roll in Egypt, Greece and Rome*, in: Eliot, S., Rose, J. (eds.) *A Companion to the History of the Book* (Oxford/Malden), 84-94.
- Ruffell, I. 2000. *The World Turned Upside Down: Utopia and Utopianism in the Fragments of Old Comedy*, in: Harvey, D., Wilkins, J. (eds.) *The Rivals of Aristophanes* (Swansea), 473-506.
- Sevieri, R. 2011. *Timoteo: I Persiani* (Milan).
- Sider, D. 2005. *The Library of the Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum* (Los Angeles).
- Simon, E., Wehgartner, I. 2013. *The White Lekythoi and the Dating of Tomb 1*, *GRMS* 1, 61-71.
- Sistakou, E. 2014. *Reading the Authorial Strategies in the Derveni Papyrus*, in: Papadopoulou, I., Muellner, L. (eds.) *Poetry as Initiation: The Center for Hellenic Studies Symposium on the Derveni Papyrus* (Cambridge Mass./London), 211-23.
- Sommerstein, A.H. 1981. *Aristophanes: Knights* (Warminster).
- Storey, I. C. 2003. *Eupolis: Poet of Old Comedy* (Oxford).
- Terzēs, Ch. 2013. *The Daphnē Harp*, *GRMS* 1, 123-49.
- Threatte, L. 1980. *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*, Vol. 1 (Berlin/New York).
- Touchais, G. 1982. *Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1981*, *BCH* 106, 529-635.

- Tsantsanoglou, K. 1997. *The First Columns of the Derveni Papyrus and their Religious Significance*, in: Laks, A., Most, G. (eds.) *Studies on the Derveni Papyrus* (Oxford), 93-128.
- Turner, E.G. 1980². *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* (Oxford).
- Turner, E.G., Parsons, P.J. 1987. *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (London).
- Tzifopoulos, Y.Z. 2014. *The Derveni Papyrus and the Bacchic-Orphic Epistomia*, in: Papadopoulou, I., Muellner, L. (eds.) *Poetry as Initiation: The Center for Hellenic Studies Symposium on the Derveni Papyrus* (Cambridge Mass./ London), 135-64.
- West, M.L. 1983. *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford).
- 1997. *Hocus Pocus in East and West: Theogony, Ritual and the Tradition of Esoteric Commentary*, in: Laks, A., Most, G. (eds.) *Studies on the Derveni Papyrus* (Oxford), 81-90.
- 2013. *The Writing Tablets and Papyrus from Tomb II in Daphni*, GRMS 1, 73-92.
- Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U. von, 1903. *Timotheos: Die Perser* (Leipzig).
- Ziebarth, E. 1914². *Aus dem griechischen Schulwesen* (Leipzig).